

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 174111

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT PEKING 2080 ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC
JULY 10.

QUOTE:C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 2080

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: OREP CH US

SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO-PING

1. SUMMARY. TENG HSIAO-PING TOLD CODEL WOLFF JULY 9
THAT ALTHOUGH CHINA WOULD NEVER MAKE A COMMITMENT NOT
TO USE FORCE TO RECOVER TAIWAN, PEKING WOULD "RESPECT
REALITIES" AND WOULD DO ITS BEST TO "CREATE CONDITIONS
TO SOLVE THIS QUESTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS." TENG
CHARACTERIZED AS "VERY POSITIVE" RECENT REPORTS THAT
THE US WOULDNOT SELL PLANES TO TAIWAN, ARGUING THAT
SUCH SALES WOULD BLOCK THE CHANCES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLE-
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MENT. HE REFERRED TO COOPERATION WITH THE KMT IN THE
20'S AND 30'S AS A POSSIBLE MODE FOR FUTURE SETTLE-
MENT OF TAIWAN. END SUMMARY.

2. IN A 90-MINUTE MEETING WITH CODEL WOLFF JULY 9,
VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING GAVE AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION
OF THE TAIWAN ISSUE. HE STATED THAT WITH RESPECT TO

TAIWAN, "THE ONLY OBSTACLE BETWEEN US", THERE COULD BE "NO CONCESSION" FROM THE PRC SINCE "THIS INVOLVES OUR OWN SOVEREIGNTY." ALTHOUGH "SOME PEOPLE HOPE THAT CHINA WILL UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT NOT TO USE FORCE," "WE CANNOT COMMIT OURSELVES ON THIS QUESTION". SUCH A COMMITMENT, HE SAID, WOULD OBSTRUCT A SETTLEMENT, INCLUDING A SOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HE REPEATED THE STATEMENT THAT "WHEN AND HOW WE LIBERATE TAIWAN IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR AND NO OTHER COUNTRY CAN POKE ITS NOSE INTO IT".

3. IN SPITE OF THIS REPETITION OF THE WELL KKNOWN PRC POSITION, TENG INDICATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AMERICAN SENSITIVITIES AND GAVE AN UNUSUALLY POSITIVE APPRAISAL OF THE CHANCES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF TAIWAN. HE STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WAS "NO ROOM FOR FLEXIBILITY" ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE, "AS FOR THE SPECIFIC MODALITIES WE CAN CONSULT EACH OTHER." HE STATED THAT CHINA WOULD "RESPECT REALITIES AND WE CAN BE FLEXIBLE IN THE MEANS OF SETTLEMENT", AND THAT "I AM SURE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A SETTLEMENT SATISFACTORY TO ALL". EVEN MORE POSITIVELY, HE DECLARED THAT "WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO CREATE CONDITIONS TO SOLVE THIS QUESTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS," THE MOST FORTHCOMING FORMULA THAT I HAVE YET HEARD USED WITH A VISITING AMERICAN DELEGATION.
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4. TENG ALSO REFERRED TWICE TO PRE-1949 COOPERATION BETWEEN THE KMT AND THE COMMUNISTS, AND ASKED: "SINCE THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN COOPERATION TWICE WITH THE KUOMINTANG, CAN YOU RULE IT OUT THE THIRD TIME?" ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE PRESENTLY ANY CONTACTS WITH TAIWAN, HE REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE, BUT STATED THAT "WE KNOW A LOT OF PEOPLE THERE" AND THAT "CHIANG CHING-KUO WAS MY CLASSMATE."

5. ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCES ON TAIWAN MIGHT TURN TO THE SOVIETS, TENG ADMITTED THAT THEY HAD CONSIDERED THIS QUESTION, BUT FELT THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY BECAUSE OF THE MT'S HISTORICAL ANTI-SOVIET POSITION. EVEN IF IT HAPPENED, HE SAID, THE CHINESE COULD COPE, BECAUSE "I DON'T THINK THE US WOULD OPPOSE" THE USE OF FORCE IN SUCH A SITUATION.

6. TENG CHARACTERIZED AS "VERY POSITIVE" NEWS REPORTS THAT THE US WOULD NOT SELL PLANES TO TAIWAN AS ORIGINALLY RUMORED AND STATED THAT SUCH WEAPONS SALES WOULD "OBSTRUCT REUNIFICATION NEGOTIATIONS AND SETTLE-

MENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS," ADDING THAT "IF PEACEFUL MEANS ARE IMPOSSIBLE

THEN ARMED FORCE WILL HAVE TO BE USED." HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, STATE THAT SUCH SALES WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH NORMALIZATION.

7. AFTER RHETORICALLY ASKING WHETHER THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS BEING MORE ACTIVE ON NORMALIZATION, TENG SAID THAT THE CHINESE WOULD WELCOME MORE ACTIVE US EFFORTS, ADDING THAT WHAT WILL ACTUALLY HAPPEN "DEPENDS ON THE EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES." HE EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT "WE AS WELL AS YOU WILL HAVE A MORE ACTIVE ATTITUDE

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TOWARD SETTLING THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS," NOTING THAT "WE HAVE THIS DESIRE AND WE HOPE YOU CAN BE QUICKER.". HE CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF AMERICAN POLITICIANS TO ADVANCE NORMALIZATION, BUT SAID "WE HOPE YOU CAN DO MORE." HE ALSO HOPED "THAT YOUR PRESIDENT WILL TAKE MORE RESOLUTE ACTION THAN NIXON DID." THIS , COUPLED WITH THE LACK OF ANY REFERENCE TO CHINESE PATIENCE OR THE POSSIBILITY OF WAITING 20 OR MORE YEARS, SUGGESTS THAT THE CHINESE HAVE A GREATER EXPECTATION OF MOVEMENT ON NORMALIZATION THAN WAS VISIBLE A FEW MONTHS AGO.

8. TENG TOOK PAINS TO RELATE NORMALIZATION TO STRATEGIC QUESTIONS, STATING THAT NORMALIZATION WOULD FORCE THE SOVIET UNION TO ACT MORE CAUTIOUSLY. HE ALSO VOLUNTEERED THAT MOSCOW WAS TRYING TO BLUFF THE UNITED STATES INTO BELIEVING IN THE POSSIBILITY OF SINO-SOVIET RECONCILIATION, BUT THAT THIS WAS JUST A TRICK. IN THE RELATIVELY BRIEF DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, TENG ALSO EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS THE "CUBA OF THE EAST" AND A TOOL IN MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO SUBVERT ASEAN. WHILE TENG HIMSELF DID NOT DRAW AN EXPLICIT CONNECTION, SOME DELEGATION MEMBERS REMARKED AFTERWARDS THAT THEY FELT PEKING'S CONCERN WITH VIETNAMESE DEVELOPMENTS COULD BE CREATING A MORE URGENT INTEREST AMONG CHINESE IN NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE US.

9. TRANSCRIPT OF CONVERSATION BEING SENT SEPTTEL. WOODCOCK UNQUOTE VANCE

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